5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

goal of return to their tribal home, even Toucouleur, find it more difficult to resist the pressures of their environment, and Dakar has a large number of permanent settlers, who are first and foremost *Dakarois*.

Many of these have found a common brotherhood above tribe in their trade unions. These, despite various setbacks and restrictions, have been well organised in Senegal. Indeed the 1944 decree restoring liberty of association did much to ensure this, by insisting that trade union officials should have good educational qualifications and that accounts should be scrutinised by the administration. Most of the unions belonged to one of the large French confederations from whom they received considerable help and advice. Since Senegal has until quite recently had over 40 per cent of the organised workers of French West Africa, trade unionism embraced a large number of people of different ethnic groups brought together to seek ends that went far beyond the limited horizons of tribal ambition.

The influence of the towns extends beyond their limits. Both in the cities, and increasingly in the villages, young men who have come in contact with the new life of Dakar or of the other major towns tend to contract monogamous marriages in the European style. Amongst the Diola, as L. V. Thomas has observed, young men are now building their own houses outside the parental extended home. But probably most important of all in the breakdown of tribal barriers is the increase of economic individualism, the desire to have possessions, and particularly good clothes, all of which run contrary to the traditional social system which leads to the maximum dispersion of a man's gains amongst his relatives.

Only the very strongest survive the effect of the city, in particular a city like Dakar, the most sophisticated, the most European, the city most diametrically opposed to the tribal life of the bush. Indeed among Dakar's inhabitants only the Moors and Toucouleur really withstand the

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162 Table I. Division of the population of the Senegalese Fouta according to ethnic groups.

Ethnic Group	Actual Number	Percentage
Toucouleur	187,000	54.8
Wolof	36,000	10.6
Saracolé	13,000	3.8
Peul	47,000	13.8
Moor	56,000	16.4
Miscellaneous	2,000	0.6
Total	341,000	100.0

582 563 The ethnic groups are relatively endogamous, because marriages between persons of different ethnic groups are very rare, except perhaps, as we have seen, between Toucouleur and Peul (Foulbé walo). The Toucouleur /669/ are the only group entirely 563 within the Fouta, aside from some fractions that emigrated in the [166] course of religious crusades into Macina, Boundou, and elsewhere.

Each of the other ethnic groups is merely an extension into the valley of a group whose bulk occupies the neighboring regions, the Wolof in the northern part of Senegal, the Saracolé in western Sudan, the Peul near the Ferlo and the Assaba. But each of these ethnic groups is itself divided into several populations: the castes.

565 [582] Castes and social conditions. The castes, in reality, present a matrimonial barrier more difficult to overcome than that of ethnic affiliation. The term "caste" is used here in the general sense of social class, exclusive in nature, and not in the sense [564] that is given it in the valley where the term is reserved for artisan castes.

[567] Social conditions first of all distinguish the captives from [422] the free men. The captives are regarded as the personal property

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567 of the masters and are married by them. They have no property
565 rights nor a voice in the village councils, being constrained to
422 menial work. This condition cannot be compared to that of the
421 slave of the two Americas in former times; it is more reminiscent
623 of that of bondage in the Europe of the Middle Ages. Before the legal suppression of this custom a certain number of captives had already been freed, but the prejudice against these people remains, and they constitute, in fact, the inferior caste in the social hierarchy.

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564 It is the hereditary work of the artisans that, properly speak-
463 ing, distinguishes the men of the castes from the others: work in wood, leather, metal, and cotton thread. This distinction is transmitted from father to son, whatever calling is actually practiced. A captive may practice weaving, but he will never belong to the caste of weavers; conversely, a man belonging to the caste of jewelers may be a doctor of medicine and practice the profession of medicine.

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582 Marriage most clearly distinguishes the social barriers which
565 the child inherits from its father. Although there is no rigid interdict, there is such ostracism that it is practically impossible for a man to marry a woman of an inferior caste without risking loss of status and being banned from society. There is one exception:
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567 it may happen that a master marries his captive in order to have children who are free; the mother will be set free by this act, but if the union is sterile the woman remains in the condition of servitude.

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565 The system of castes is still very much alive, especially among the Toucouleur, and actually divides the ethnic group into partial populations, which, however, are less numerous than in India.

The functional nature of the castes has brought about in the course of their history the appearance of a hierarchy. Among the Toucouleur there are first the free men (rimbé), not belonging to the trade castes, and among /670/ whom, at the head, are the torobé (singular, torodo). Originally, in the Fouta Toro, this word in Arabic designated a scholar, a propagator of Islam. It

1 [i.e., the captives -- Analyst]